Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KIGALI 00593 01 OF 02 231407Z

42
ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-14 SP-02 EB-03 L-01 INR-05 RSC-01

EUR-08 /039 W
---------- 090870
R 230700Z OCT 74
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3184
INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
AMCONSUL BUKAVU
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KIGALI 0593/1

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR EAID BU RW US
SUBJ: AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR BURUNDI-RWANDA COOPERATION

REF: BUJUMBURA 0639

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: EMB KIGALI AGREES WITH EMB BUJUMBURA THAT CURRENT POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE PROPITIOUS FOR ENCOURAGING CLOSER RWANDA-BURUNDI BILATERAL ECONOMIC TIES AND THAT SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WOULD BE CONSISTENT US POLICY INTERESTS. HOWEVER, EMB ALSO NOTES NUMBER HISTORICAL, PRACTICAL AND POLITICAL FACTORS WHICH INDICATE IT WOULD BE IMPRUDENT FOR USG TO ADOPT HIGH-VISIBILITY CATALYTIC ROLE. EMB THUS SUGGESTS AMB. MARK'S RECOMMENDATION FOR A USAID STUDY TEAM ON JOINT PROJECTS BE MODIFIED TO PROVIDE FOR A MIXED STUDY MISSION BY INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS (UNDP, FED AND IBRD) BUT WITH USAID EXPERT INPUT. END SUMMARY.
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 00593 01 OF 02 231407Z

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

2. FAVORABLE ASPECTS. AMB. MARK'S THOUGHTFUL ANALYSIS REFTEL IS CONSISTENT LONGSTANDING US POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC GOAL ENCOURAGING FUNCTIONAL INTEGRATION AMONG AFRICAN STATES. PROMOTION REGIONAL COOPERATION IS ALSO ESTABLISHED PARA COURSE OF ACTION (ALTHOUGH IN KIGALI WE HAVE GENERALLY REGARDED THIS IN EAST AFRICA AND TRIPARTITE (RWANDA, BURUNDI, ZAIRE) CONTEXT RATHER THAN BILATERALLY BETWEEN RWANDA-BURUNDI). HISTORY OF USG INTEREST IN REGIONAL COOPERATION CENTRAL AFRICA DATES BACK TO US-SPONSORED STUDY HYDRO-ELECTRIC POTENTIAL RUSIZI RIVER IN EARLY 50'S.

3. EMB KIGALI ALSO CONCURS DEVELOPMENT COMMON RWANDA-BURUNDI ECONOMIC INTERESTS WOULD RAISE THRESHOLD AGAINST POTENTIAL BILATERAL HOSTILITY. HOWEVER, WE DOUBT ANY ECONOMIC INTEREST WOULD OVERRIDE BASIC POLITICAL PROCLIVITIES GOB SUBDUE HUTUS AS OFTEN AS THEY ARE PERCEIVED TO THREATEN TUTSI HEGEMONY OR GOR PROVIDE ASYLUM AND EMPLOYMENT DISPLACED HUTUS WITH IMPLICIT SYMPATHY THEIR CAUSE.

4. WE ASSUME ANY JOINT PROJECTS WOULD RELATE SECTORIALLY TO BASIC DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS WITHIN REGION, SEEK IMPROVE STATURE POOREST OF THE POOR, HAVE MULTI-DONOR FUNDING, AND OTHERWISE FIT WITHIN CURRENT AID GUIDELINES FOR PROJECT SUPPORT.

5. A VARIETY OF POTENTIAL PROJECTS SUPPORTING REGIONAL COOPERATION AND MULTI-DONOR FUNDING OF INFRASTRUCTURE ALREADY EXIST. POSSIBILITIES INCLUDE NYABARONGO RIVER-LAKE RUGWERO DRAINAGE PROJECT; BUJUMBURA-BUGARAMA-CYANGUGU HIGHWAY INCLUDING PORT FACILITIES AT CYANGUGU; GITEGA-MUHINGA-NZAZA HIGHWAY TO LINK UP WITH PROPOSED KIGALI-RUSUMO FALLS-NZEGA (TANZANIA) HIGHWAY; RUSIZI VALLEY RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT; BUGESERA-MUYAGA RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT; AND HYDRO-ELECTRIC PROJECTS ON THE LURIRONZA, RUVUBO, OR KAGERA RIVERS. THESE AND OTHER PROJECTS INCLUDED IN UN KAGERA RIVER BASIN REPORT.

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42
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RSC-01 /039 W
---------- 091087
R 230730Z OCT 74
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
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INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
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USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KIGALI 0593/2

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6. QUALIFICATIONS. EMB QUESTIONS, HOWEVER, WHETHER USAID STUDY ON COMMINGLING THE TWO ECONOMIES USEFUL IN TERMS ECONOMIC RESULT OR WISE IN POLITICAL IMPACT. GOR EXTREMELY VEXED WITH WHAT IT REGARDS AS SURFEIT OF STUDIES WHICH DO NOT LEAD TO CONCRETE RESULTS. IT WOULD ALSO BE SKEPITCAL ANY NEW STUDY WHICH IMPLICITLY IN-FRINGED ON ITS SOVEREIGNTY WITHOUT OFFERING PROSPECT IMMEDIATE OVERRIDING FINANCIAL BENEFITS. IN ADDITION, OUR EXPERIENCE (AND THAT OF OTHER DONORS) IS THAT NO AMOUNT OF ADVANCE PROTESTATION OR SUBSEQUENT DENIAL PRE-VENTS GOR FROM CONVICTION THAT EXTRENALLY-FINANCED STUDIES ARE NOT A SIAMESE TWIN TO MORAL COMMITMENTS FOR PROJECT FINANCING.

7. EMB BELIEVE GOR INTEREST IN BILATERAL COOPERATION RELATED PRIMARILY TO INFRASTRUCTURE LINKAGES (PARTICU-LARLY TRANSPORTATION AND TRADE) WHICH WOULD IMPROVE ITS CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 00593 02 OF 02 231425Z

ECONOMIC SITUATION OR IN PROJECTS WHICH CANNOT BE FUNDED INDER SEPARATE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES (LAKE KIVU METHANE GAS AND RUSIZI II HYDRO-ELECTRIC STATION--BOTH TRIPARTITE PROJECTS). RWANDA, FOR EXAMPLE, WOULD ACCEPT PROPOSAL OF BI-NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL PLANT ONLY IF NO POS-SIBLE FUNDING FOR A NATIONAL FIRM AVAILABLE. WE ALSO KNOW RWANDAN LEADERS CONSIDER RAPID POLITICAL CHANGES IN BURUNDI A DISTINCT POSSIBILITY AND WILL THUS BE PARTICU-LARLY WARY OF ANY "HOSTAGE" RELATIONSHIP. TRANSPORTATION, ELECTRIC POWER AND INDUSTRIES (POTENTIAL-LY THE MOST INTERESTING) ARE ALSO CURRENTLY OUTSIDE USAID

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

PROJECT GUIDELITW.

8. WHILE APPEALS TO COMMON HERITAGE NOW REVERBERATE IN BUJUMBURA AND KIGALI, SEPARATIST TENDENCIES ARE DEEPLY EMBEDDED INNLONG LRECOLONIAL HISOTYR OF CONTINUED HOSTILITY BETWEEN THE TWO KINDOMS, THE EXPERIENCE OF DISTINCT INDIGENOUS ADMINISTRATIONS DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD, AND A DECADE OF POST-COLONIAL HOSTILITY EXACERBATED BY EXCHANGE OF REFUGEE POPULATIONS. FURTHER, RWANDA HAS 50 YEARS EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE THAT ECONOMIC INTEGRATION TENDS TO FAVOR COMMERCIAL CENTERS OUTSIDE ITS BORDERS, I.E., BUJUMBURA AND BUKAVU.

9. RECOMMENDATION. IN SPITE OF THE QUALIFICATIONS, I AGREE WITH AMB MARK THAT CURRENT POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE IS PROPITIOUS FOR ENCOURAGING COMMON RWANDA-BURUNDI ECONOMIC TIES. BUT I QUERY WHETHER USAID STUDY MISSION WOULD BE USEFUL UNLESS IT WERE LINKED TO POTENTIAL USAID-FINANCED PROJECTS OR TO REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS ALREADY UNDER CONSIDERATION. UNDER CURRENT AID BUDGET AND GUIDELINES, LINKAGES APPEAR DIFFICULT.

10. THE UNDP, FED AND IBRD ARE ENGAGED IN LARGE-SCALE AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS AND WE IN KIGALI (AS WELL AS AMB. MARK IN BUJUMBURA) HAVE OBSERVED THAT EACH INSTITUTION SEEMS TO HAVE LITTLE IDEA OF WHAT ITS SISTER UNIT IS UNDERTAKING. IT THUS MIGHT BE PROCEDURALLY MORE PRACTICAL AND POLITICALLY MORE PRUDENT FOR A MIXED STUDY MISSION OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS (WITH USAID EXPERT INPUT) TO UNDERTAKE THE KIND OF CATALYTIC INITIATIVE
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 00593 02 OF 02 231425Z

AMB. MARK HAS SUGGESTED. ALTHOUGH GOR CAN BE EXPECTED APPROACH ANY COMMON ECONOMIC SCHEME CAUTIOUSLY AND SKEPTICALLY, USG PARTICIPATION IN A VIABLE REGIONAL PROJECT (PARTICULARLY IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR) COULD BE ENVISIONED AFTER IDENTIFICATION BY MIXED TEAM.
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